

Message Text

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TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

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INFO AMEMBASSY BEIRUT PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY AMMAN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY JIDDA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 077670

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, MOPS, UN, IS, LE, XF

SUBJ: SOUTH LEBANON: DEALING WITH PARTIES AND NON-
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PARTIES

REF: JERUSALEM 840 (NOTAL)

1. THE SERIOUS PROBLEMS THE UN IS ENCOUNTERING IN
OBTAINING COOPERATION OF LEBANESE CHRISTIANS AND PALESTI-
NIANS LEAD US TO BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO EXCHANGE
VIEWS WITH UN ON BEST WAYS OF DEALING WITH GOVERNMENTS

AND COMBATANTS IN ORDER TO GET EFFECTIVE ACTION. ACCORD-
INGLY, AMBASSADOR LEONARD INITIALLY (AND PRESUMABLY
CONSUL GENERAL NEWLIN SUBSEQUENTLY WITH SIILASVUO)
SHOULD ENGAGE WALDHEIM IN DISCUSSION OF THIS QUESTION,
DRAWING ON POINTS THAT FOLLOW:

-- WE CONSIDER IT OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE THAT THE
PROCEDURES DEVELOPED BY THE UN IN ENSURING THE IMPLEMEN-
TATION OF ITS UNIFIL MANDATE BE DESIGNED IN ALL RESPECTS
TO STRENGTHEN THE AUTHORITY OF THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT.
THIS MAY REQUIRE, INITIALLY AT LEAST, PROCEEDING ON THE
BASIS OF THE FICTION THAT THE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT CAN
CONTROL ITS TERRITORY. IF THE UN DOES NOT PROCEED ON THE
BASIS OF THE ASSUMPTION, WHAT STARTS AS FICTION MAY NEVER

BECOME FACT. THUS, WE BELIEVE ALL CONTACTS WITH THE COM-
BATANTS SHOULD, WHENEVER POSSIBLE, BE CONFINED TO INSTANCES
WHEN LEBANESE OFFICIALS ARE PRESENT. WHERE POSSIBLE, THIS
PRACTICE SHOULD BE FOLLOWED AT ALL LEVELS, WHICH IS ONE
GOOD REASON WHY LEBANESE CIVIL, POLICE AND MILITARY SHOULD
BE PROMPTLY REINTRODUCED INTO SOUTHERN LEBANON. TO ACT
OTHERWISE WOULD BE TO WEAKEN GOL AND MAKE MORE DIFFICULT
ACHIEVEMENT OF UNIFIL MANDATE.

-- FORMAL CONTACT WITH LEBANON APART, IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT
ISRAELI AND SYRIAN GOVERNMENTS ARE, RESPECTIVELY, THE MOST
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EFFECTIVE POINTS FROM WHICH PRESSURE CAN BE APPLIED ON
LEBANESE CHRISTIAN MILITIA AND PALESTINIANS. NEITHER
GOVERNMENT SHOULD HAVE ANY DOUBT THAT UN LOOKS TO IT TO
CONTROL COMBATANTS SO THAT SECURITY COUNCIL DECISIONS CAN
BE IMPLEMENTED. (CERTAINLY BOTH GOVERNMENTS ARE CLEAR
THAT THIS IS THE US VIEW.) UNIFIL WILL OBVIOUSLY HAVE TO
DEAL WITH IRREGULAR FORCES ON BOTH SIDES TO WORK OUT
ARRANGEMENTS ON THE GROUND. HOWEVER, THESE CONTACTS SHOULD
NOT BE ALLOWED TO SUBSTITUTE FOR, OR DEROGATE FROM, THE
PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CONCERNED GOVERNMENTS.

-- WE ASSUME THAT UNIFIL IS WORKING OUT WITH LEBANESE
GOVERNMENT DETAILED SCHEDULE FOR INTRODUCTION OF LEBANESE
AUTHORITY INTO SOUTHERN LEBANON. WE PRESUME POLICE UNITS
COULD GO IN ALMOST IMMEDIATELY WITH UNIFIL UNITS.

-- RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UN AND THE PLO ARE A PARTICULAR-
LY DELICATE ISSUE. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 425 WAS
CAREFULLY DRAFTED TO AVOID ACCORDING THE PLO (OR THE
CHRISTIAN MILITIAS FOR THAT MATTER) A STATUS EQUAL TO
INTERESTED OFFICIAL PARTIES -- THE GOVERNMENTS OF ISRAEL
AND LEBANON. WHILE RECOGNIZING THAT SOME CONTACT WILL BE

REQUIRED, WE BELIEVE THE UN SHOULD KEEP IN MIND THE NEED TO KEEP THE LEVEL AND THE VISIBILITY OF THE CONTACT AS LOW AS POSSIBLE. IN PART, SUCH A MODUS OPERANDI WILL BE IMPORTANT IN ENSURING ISRAELI COOPERATION WITH UN EFFORTS NOT ONLY IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE BUT ALSO OVER TIME.

2. ON ANOTHER SUBJECT, USUN SHOULD INFORM FOUR OTHER WESTERN SECURITY COUNCIL DELEGATIONS THAT, SUBJECT TO THEIR VIEWS, WE PROPOSE CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN FIVE GOVERNMENTS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF SC DECISIONS RELATING TO SOUTHERN LEBANON TAKE PLACE IN NEW YORK. IF THIS IS AGREEABLE, YOU SHOULD SUGGEST AN EARLY MEETING SO THAT THE FIVE CAN EXCHANGE VIEWS ON SITUATION IN LEBANON

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AND BE BRIEFED ON US VIEWS AND ACTION. FYI. WE HAVE HAD NUMBER OF REQUESTS FOR BRIEFINGS HERE, FROM FRENCH AND BRITISH PARTICULARLY, BUT BELIEVE WESTERN FIVE MEETINGS IN NEW YORK ARE MOST APPROPRIATE AND EFFECTIVE CONTEXT. END FYI. VANCE

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